

ABOUT MASCOTS

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When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

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That is all, and in it we have another link with 777 and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

[41]  
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I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to 600 a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar 527 that I now write a translation of it. (There is really 774 nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the incarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

- 527ed it into sections and commented on each where I  
 • 774 considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [768] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[774] [The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For with the Ainu all incarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[573] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called *Iyomande maratto*, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

ABOUT MASCOTS

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"When thou comest again on another pleasure visit  
to the honoured one who reared thee, remember that  
I am the man who caused this to be done. We shall  
meet again. We shall see one another. *He, he, he.*  
Adieu!"

What a world of comfort! The cub is not supposed  
to stay too long with his parents but is expected to  
return soon from the mountains, which make the bear's  
heaven, to enjoy another mutual feast with the people.  
He may even return the following spring. His former  
owners will be continually looking out for him. They  
will recognize one another and his old friends will be  
pleased to see him and enjoy fattening him up again  
for another "send off." And so, my dear little cub,  
adieu!

## ORIGIN OF AINU, AND CREATION

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people have assembled, he should be killed and sent away." 773

Having told me these old stories about the bear and sea-lion, the marten and racoon, he proceeded to say a few things about bear and wolf worship.

He said: "The most gentle and well behaved bears 774 are called *Nupuri-horo-Kamui*. (This may mean equally well 'Deities who possess the mountains' or 'Most precious divinities'; the latter is what I think it really means in this place). They have their home in the middle of the mountains (i.e. in the very interior of the country) and their garments are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver and bronze. One must never fail to do worship to such when he happens to meet them. The most wild and dangerous are called *Nupuri-kesh-un-gawa*, i.e. 'Creatures residing at the foot of the mountains.' Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like bloodred thread. These are a very wild kind and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears are not to be worshipped. They don't deserve it." This little story being finished, I asked him to give me one more before we retired for the night. And so he said, "I will now tell you about the wolf.

"The divine wolf is clothed in white and his home 773 is on the eastern side of the mountains. In the beginning he resided in Paradise, but, having a great desire 774 to live upon the earth, he descended and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now, if a person is pursued by an evil bear, he should call upon the wolf in a very loud voice to come to help him. If he does so with a true heart the wolf will without fail come and kill the bear and deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought certainly to be worshipped."

These are exceedingly curious matters and I can 774 not help thinking that there is lying under the surface more than at first sight is apparent to the eye. I have

- 774 seen sea-lions and other marine animals carved on the moustache-lifters used by some of the men, and I have also seen many crowns with bear's heads and the heads of foxes and wolves carved on them. I believe these were originally totemistic signs and that such stories as those now related bespeak certain feuds or tribal wars among the people. And it is a matter of fact that when I first came down from the mountains and visited the dwellers at the sea shore of a certain place, the chief would not receive me because the language I spoke was that of the "hill men and dwellers among bears!"

Until within very few years ago, Robin Island in the Bay of Patience was a well known place for hunting fur seals, and many foreigners have made fortunes there. Formerly it was regarded by the Ainu as their own personal property absolutely, having been produced by an Ainu goddess. The people living in those regions made profit by bartering the skins of their kills to the Russians, Manchurians and Japanese. After a time the Russians took the island over, turned off the Ainu, and forbade them to take the skins any more. This has rankled in the minds of the men greatly, and although they have not said much to other people about it, they have spoken of it among themselves and friends and told them that they would not mind so much if the Russians would allow them to have a share either in the killing or profits realized. They consider themselves to have been very hardly treated. But as the Russians are said to have ruled by fear, they were afraid to air their grievance, lest they should be sent off into the interior of Siberia.

As a proof that the Ainu originally owned this island they quote the following legend:

- 539 "There lived a young woman in a certain village who had been adopted into a family with a view to making her in time the wife of the son. Though betrothed, they were not yet married. After a time she

## MY FRIENDS TEE AND ARIMAKNA

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earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was <sup>797</sup> nothing if not sincere.

Sel/. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be-<sup>614</sup> lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, <sup>774</sup> and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. <sup>825</sup>

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

## CHAPTER XLII

## ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771  
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774●  
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776  
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves,  
the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces  
necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary  
dead men and even those of demons and the lower  
animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of  
spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent  
way with any particular visible, material forms. And  
it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spirit-  
ual beings who are assumed to be directly connected  
with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life  
moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the  
religion of the people is a very present and deep one.  
It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and  
affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it,  
and there is no possible way of escaping it. The well-  
ing up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling  
rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the  
tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds,  
the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog,  
fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless  
oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the  
rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such  
phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul,  
either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769  
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

## ON COSMOLOGY AND THE DEMON OF THUNDER 200

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772  
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539  
names. First, the most common is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 773  
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uoterake Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [327]  
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]  
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the [46]  
hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774  
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775  
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828  
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

## CHAPTER XLIX

## FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS

In travelling among the wilds of Hokkaidō with the Ainu, nothing has ever made a greater impression upon me than the unparalleled awe and deep respect in which the men held the rivers when going up and down them. I could not at first understand why this was so, but was gradually enlightened by chief Penri and others as the years went by. On my first trip up the Saru river and back again in an Ainu boat, which was merely the trunk of a large elm tree hollowed out, and had no seat in it, I was asked by the boatman to sit tightly on the bottom and not move more than I could possibly help, nor bend over the side to look into the water, nor reach out for anything on land or river, and to talk very quietly. All of which behests I promised faithfully to obey. I thought all this was for fear lest I should upset the boat, fall into the water, or disturb some wild animal or other. But in this surmise I was mistaken, as the sequel will show.

It was gradually borne in upon me that these people regarded rivers themselves as living creatures, and that each living thing was itself also inhabited by many other spirits, which in their turn also were the homes of others. I was assured that some of these were regarded as good and others as evil. The class-name for all of them, right from the head waters down to the river's mouth, was *Wakko-ush-kamui*, that is, "good and evil genii of the water." It was the firm belief of these people in such things that inspired the awe I saw settle down on the boatmen, one and all.

## CHAPTER I

## THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me and struck me with the greatest wonder when I visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right. [224]

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in general, he said, "When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship, 782 778

797 others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of  
 797 Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as  
 he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew  
 nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped.  
 The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

● 797 The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or  
 797 "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future  
 life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metem-  
 psychosis is equally unknown to them.

764 As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the  
 implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person  
 are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being  
 thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is,  
 not that the dead body should profit by these things in the  
 other world, but that no other person should make use of what  
 had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the  
 811 Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his  
 mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he  
 finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is  
 guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what  
 is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such  
 things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has  
 154 to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary  
 kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last  
 [181] degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of  
 living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts.

797 The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker  
 of all things and above all things, is far beyond the compre-  
 hension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he prin-  
 cipally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive  
 after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no  
 formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essen-  
 tial to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of super-  
 naturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which  
 manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. How-  
 ever, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They  
 have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn.  
 The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

## THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis,—a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

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[77] 1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence,—an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for [773] example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revived, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

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776 With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

778 The  
124 Ainu tells this deity<sup>1</sup> his wants, and he will convey them to the  
kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that  
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and  
776 all of them help the Ainu."—"And how can a little stick  
talk?"—"It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells  
all to the kamui. Why, even a tree—that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had  
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu,  
and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau* is not a deity,  
nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,  
—a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of con-  
veying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to  
the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon  
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,  
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mys-  
terious, is never applied to *inau*. They are treated, it is true,  
as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu  
pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the  
eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift  
up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are ad-  
dressed to the respective deities, and not to the *inau*. Before  
the *inau*, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them,  
various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are  
hung; but all of these are offerings which the *inau*, or rather  
their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*,  
denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, val-  
uables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the *inau*.  
And naturally, too, the *inau* as mediators are needed by men,  
but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the *inau*, in  
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without  
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satis-  
fied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a  
man without an *inau*," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] <sup>1</sup> Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to  
[554] individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in  
affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed *tree-tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

## PREFACE

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual  
 ● 774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the  
 776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or  
 824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some  
 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are  
 more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes.  
 Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit,  
 all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the  
 country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human  
 beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as  
 trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as  
 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*.  
 According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable  
 matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant  
 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

114  
 825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta-  
 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe  
 that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals  
 of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,  
 [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained  
 by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad  
 subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,  
 104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g  
 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I  
 have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency  
 have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision,  
 I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the  
 village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cul-  
 tural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their techno-  
 logy. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after considera-  
 tion of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the  
 conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part  
 of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on  
 Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House',  
 compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in  
*Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

## INTRODUCTION

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remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A  
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the  
[162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty,  
361 but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers,  
and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing  
grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically  
423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was  
[184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and  
common participation in certain rituals.<sup>1</sup> Members of the local  
groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had ex-  
clusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against  
the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local  
group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-  
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The  
621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common  
salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to per-  
form the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the  
coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the  
spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to  
825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best  
796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

## Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu  
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier  
posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep  
out the barbarians'. Sansom<sup>2</sup> states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] <sup>1</sup> I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further  
researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa*  
[622] who *hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people).  
[714] Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim  
to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single  
authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Sansom, Japan, a Short Cultural History, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

## FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this  
192 work.

*Ramat* (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and  
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English  
equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given

● 774 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-  
192 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh,  
eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the  
north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'.  
Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading  
and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies  
vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put  
it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable  
to shift from one place to another but is never diminished through-  
out all changes of position. I find no better all-round description  
than in the lines of Wordsworth:

A motion and a spirit that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When  
living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves  
them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account  
weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so  
that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of  
animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason  
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with  
sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as  
'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in  
the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*,  
this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate  
things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied,  
however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or  
spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a  
connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They  
recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but  
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious  
from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

# FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: "They have thoughts to themselves" (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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## FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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 ● 774 In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat*  
 782 of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resent-  
 825 ment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all,  
 and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be  
 forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to  
 cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and  
 birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings  
 of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off  
 [796] with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal  
 (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear  
 Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.<sup>1</sup>

776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by  
 787 spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good  
 as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

774 *Kamui* operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power.  
 There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one  
 776 closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants,  
 quite distinct from it, is *mauwe*. In prayers soliciting help against  
 782 evil spirits I have found *mauwe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency  
 787 employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and,  
 like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different  
 measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture,  
 though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially  
 efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term  
 of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so trans-  
 lated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The  
 corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grand-  
 mother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense  
 this is not incorrect.<sup>2</sup> The rites which they perform, and the nature

[776] <sup>1</sup> The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a  
 [825] mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity  
 visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity  
 of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied  
 particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the  
 prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon,  
 the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirhap* and the *sisam*. The bear,  
 the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] <sup>2</sup> In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit.  
 Women mediums called *turu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are  
 then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

## II

### THE KAMUI

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824 IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.<sup>1</sup> When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114] <sup>1</sup> Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13-14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

## THE KAMUI

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress<sup>1</sup> and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*imono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

<sup>1</sup> *Ehaski, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehaski* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

## THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-  
 koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the  
 [372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the  
 fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and  
 Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close  
 • [774] association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit  
 of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any  
 misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the  
 offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against  
 evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement  
 that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great  
 judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal  
 to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his  
 sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*  
 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.  
 That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.  
 The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside  
 the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the  
 window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or  
 rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui<sup>1</sup> is really an epithet, as are nearly  
 [552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,  
 which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,  
 are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village  
 raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but  
 [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and  
 [778] of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the  
 place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are  
 never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is  
 [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings  
 to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being  
 passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] <sup>1</sup> According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says  
 that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the  
 feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut  
 Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

## THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*murukuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

<sup>1</sup> In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

By loose

## THE KAMUI

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametan-ne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

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The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shirathi kamui*<sup>1</sup> and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shirathi kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

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For *shirathi kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

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In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shirathi kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

<sup>1</sup> In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, *Shirathi Kamui* is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called *Chironup Kamui* or *Shitumbe Kamui*.—H.W.

# THE KAMUI

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is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

*Shirathi kamui* may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

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Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

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Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.<sup>1</sup> Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

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Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of *Shiramba Kamui*, are besought for the cure of disease.

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It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

# III

## THE INAU

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778 **R**AMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

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[782] *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

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778 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

## THE INAU

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwa*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoha*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasp's nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

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## THE INAU

978 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those re-  
 782 quired to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)<sup>1</sup> who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[574] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.

[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*changi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive [571] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] <sup>1</sup> Another name for this *kamui* is *Iso-sange-rnat*. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as *Iso-ampa-Kamui*, game-owning deity, and *Iso-an-Kamui*.—H.W.

## IV

## EFFIGIES

<sup>778</sup>  
 [774] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,  
 [784] by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against  
 [782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit.  
 [755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased  
 [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

<sup>778</sup> We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*  
<sup>776</sup> to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts  
<sup>532</sup> dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under  
 [774] the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with  
 a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made presentations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

## EFFIGIES

Deity.<sup>1</sup> It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.<sup>2</sup> Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisci-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

## EFFIGIES

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

*Shutu Inau Kamui*

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any, the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

## HEARTH AND HOME

342  
 353 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached  
 354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations  
 [796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukreguru has seen elders  
 [782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit  
 354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never  
 764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the  
 ● 774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as repre-  
 354 senting one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less fami-  
 775 liarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the  
 [184] dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,  
 the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits  
 of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth  
 (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty an-  
 cestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely  
 if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In  
 this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*<sup>1</sup>  
*kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,  
 776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,  
 774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glow-  
 ing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every  
 night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out.  
 When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During  
 that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that  
 the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe  
 [688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no  
 [586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who  
 reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery  
 as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of  
 [782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an  
 oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is sup-  
 posed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth  
 before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were  
 erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

<sup>1</sup> Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something  
 powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped  
 before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil  
 spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power.  
 —B.Z.S.

## HEARTH AND HOME

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any  
 776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed  
 776 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the  
 [462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder  
 would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,  
 776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower  
 end of the hearth.<sup>1</sup> Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual  
 impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari  
 Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed  
 to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui  
 could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was.  
 Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than  
 between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth  
 554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes  
 according to their social standing. Customary positions are in-  
 dicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5),  
 with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife  
 she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious,  
 could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured  
 [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the  
 [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9).  
 Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*,  
 which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a  
*shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the  
 interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the  
 far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-  
 koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)  
 523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being  
 [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained  
 [439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.  
 [177] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and  
 lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasion-  
 ally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly  
 important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among  
 other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844] <sup>1</sup> After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of  
 the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

## HEARTH AND HOME

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikheu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

# VII

## THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY (CHISEI NOMI)

342 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for  
527 detailed description because it includes the main features of all  
Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits  
incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model  
of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'im-  
portant' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which  
the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and  
is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before  
a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an  
old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even  
now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of  
[184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few,  
and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual  
dismissal of the oar.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even  
[774] regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of *Kamui Fuchi*  
[789] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of *Shiramba*  
*Kamui*. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch-  
safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against  
evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof.  
The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the  
festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted,  
[782] an effigy of *Chisei-koro Kamui* is made. Then all important *kamui*  
are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they  
are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

## X

## VARIOUS RITES

*Hunting*

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[782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other 'pase' kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shirathi kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*).  
[825] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

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[422] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.  
[211]

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224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

## DEATH AND BURIAL

- 774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*<sup>1</sup> of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.
- [828] 775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be manifested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox, the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.
- 776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
- 775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
- [826] 766 In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau* [966] *kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks. [983] 766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.
- 000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

<sup>1</sup> According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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### Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)<sup>1</sup> which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*<sup>2</sup> for cakes (*shito*); this is brought underground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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[533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse<sup>3</sup> with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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[774] ●  
[782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

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<sup>1</sup> *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

<sup>2</sup> *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

<sup>3</sup> It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

[178]  
[593]

## DEATH AND BURIAL

with the young. 'Fuo!' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

*Grave-goods*

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774] ●

# DEATH AND BURIAL

- [764] to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side<sup>1</sup> (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

- [775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary.
- [776] *Kamui Fuchi* looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

## Burial Rites and Customs

- [178] The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.
- [184] Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

- [412] <sup>1</sup> This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord.
- [844] —N.G.M.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764  
 six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778  
 not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet 184  
 high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like 532  
 a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular  
 top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are  
 attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing  
 cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there 531  
 are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.<sup>1</sup>  
 These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui 776  
 Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom 774  
 she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the  
 deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream 782  
 where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body  
 on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accom-  
 pany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui  
 applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic 823  
 water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by  
 Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together  
 up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764  
 on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778  
 placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is  
 then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the  
 ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty  
 vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly  
 forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is 774  
 regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is 776  
 free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see  
 the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to  
 guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.  
 The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the  
 dead—*wakka-eshit tomta* (well prepared).

<sup>1</sup> In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which 184  
 was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark  
 the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale*  
*Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161-2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.